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Letter dated 28 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter dated 28 March 2001, addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Aytuğ Plümer, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex would be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 64, and of the Security Council.

(*Signed*) Ümit **Pamir**
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Annex to the letter dated 28 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

28 March 2001

I have the honour to refer to the letter of Mr. Sotiros Zackheos, the Greek Cypriot representative at the UN, dated 13 February 2001 (A/55/782 – S/2001/133), in which he repeated, in his purported capacity as the "Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cyprus", the well-known and unfounded Greek Cypriot allegations in an effort to distort the realities in Cyprus and to consolidate its hijacked title of the "Government of Cyprus".

Paying lip service to "intensifying efforts for finding a fast and workable solution of the Cyprus problem" while rejecting the truth and continuing the false pretence of being the "government of Cyprus", has not taken us anywhere for the last 38 years, and will not do so in the future. The Turkish Cypriot people expect the Greek Cypriot side to face the facts courageously; to stop distorting the realities; and to put an end to its game of trying to run away with Cyprus in line with its well-known policy as admitted by Mr. Glafcos Clerides, the Greek Cypriot leader, in his memoirs in the following straightforward manner:

"Just as the Greek Cypriot preoccupation was that Cyprus should be a Greek Cypriot state, with a protected Turkish Cypriot minority, the Turkish preoccupation was to defeat any such effort and maintain the partnership concept, which in their opinion the Zurich Agreement created between the two communities. The conflict, therefore, was a conflict of principle and for that principle both sides were prepared to go on arguing and even, if need be, to fight, rather than compromise.

The same principle is still in conflict, even today..."

("My Deposition", Vol.3, p.105)

This has been confirmed not only by the Greek Cypriot criminal acts which began on 21 December 1963 in the form of an attempted genocide against the Turkish Cypriots and continued as such until our liberation by Turkey in July 1974, but also by the public pronouncements of General Karayiannis of Greece to the effect that the order for the perpetration of this crime against humanity had been given in the month of August 1960, the very same year in which the partnership Republic was established. Further confirmation is in the notorious "Akritas Plan" which has been circulated as a UN document (A/33/115 and S/12722 of 30 May 1978).

The claim of the Greek Cypriot representative that the "Government of Cyprus" has continued to be in existence since 1963 and operated in accordance with the 1960 Constitution, subject to "necessary temporary modifications", is, in its simplest expression, absurd and intended to mislead world public opinion. The arbitrary alteration of the basic (and hence unamendable) articles of the 1960 Constitution, which were designed to safeguard the equal partnership status of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot peoples, by taking full advantage of the inability of the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner to use its right of veto as a result of its forceful ejection from all the state organs, can, in no way, be described as "necessary temporary modifications". It should be stressed that Article 182 of the 1960 Constitution stated that the Basic Articles "***could not, in any way, be amended, whether by way of variation, addition or repeal***". The other articles of the Constitution, which could be amended, required concurrent two-thirds majority of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives. The Greek Cypriot actions also violated Article 1 of the Treaty of Guarantee, in which the "Republic of Cyprus" undertook "***to ensure ... respect for its constitution***".

The letter also claims that several invitations were extended to the Turkish Cypriot partner to return to the "1960 institutions". It fails to mention, however, that all the efforts of the Turkish Cypriot side to regain their equal status and position in the 1960 *state of affairs*, were made contingent upon acceptance, by them, of "laws" unconstitutionally enacted in their absence.

Consequently, the Greek Cypriot allegation that Turkish Cypriots "abandoned the government" is a false statement which adds insult to injury. Its repetition by the Greek Cypriot side only reconfirms that they have no desire to establish a new partnership with us, but are bent on dominating us. It would suffice to present the following extracts from the

reports of the UN Secretary-General that it was the Greek Cypriot side which persistently denied the Turkish Cypriot demand to be reintegrated into the state machinery.

" *The Turkish Cypriot civil servants felt that due to the prevailing conditions since December 1963 they were unable for physical and security reasons, to attend their offices on the Greek Cypriot side of Nicosia. Therefore, they stayed on the Turkish Cypriot side and affirmed that they were willing to co-ordinate their work with the Government departments' activities* "

"*108. All negotiations on the possible re-employment of the Turkish Cypriot Government civil servants in Nicosia and their financial compensation from January 1964 have ended in a deadlock up to now, as it is considered by the Government to be a highly political matter linked closely with the final settlement of the Cyprus question.*"
(Report of the UN Secretary-General to the Security Council dated 10 September 1964, S/5950)

" *6. ... the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives decided to attempt to participate in the debates of the House. During the morning of 22 July, the Turkish Cypriot members informed the Special Representative of the Secretary-General about their decision.*"

"*7. The Turkish Cypriot members requested UNFICYP to extend its good offices to enable them to receive information about the time of meeting of the House, and to make arrangements for the Turkish Cypriot members to attend such meetings in safety. They specified that, if officially invited and notified about matters to be considered, as required by the constitution, they would be prepared to attend Parliament on all questions,..*"

"*9. Mr. Clerides informed UNFICYP that he was prepared to discuss the situation during the afternoon of 22 July with a group of Turkish Cypriot members of the House. He subsequently indicated, however, that he would not receive this delegation if they came escorted by UNFICYP soldiers, though he would not object to their being brought to his office in an UNFICYP automobile driven by an UNFICYP employee. Finally, Mr. Clerides stated that unless the Turkish Cypriot members accepted the conditions laid down by him, he found it pointless to supply to them copies of the pending bills.*"

"*11. Mr. Clerides also stated that the constitutional provisions concerning promulgation of the laws by the President and Vice-President were no longer applicable. He subsequently stated that in his opinion the Turkish Cypriot members had no legal standing any more in the House.*"
(Report of the UN Secretary-General to the Security Council dated 29 July 1965, S/6569)

The above documented evidence amply demonstrates that what the Turkish Cypriots faced on 21 December 1963 was a veritable Greek Cypriot coup, directed by the Greek Cypriot side against the partnership Republic and the Agreements which brought it about. This was accompanied by a campaign of ethnic cleansing launched by the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriot people, evidence of which is in the following paragraphs:

The then US Under-Secretary of State, Mr. George Ball, in his memoirs entitled "*The Past Has Another Pattern*", states the following regarding the real intention of Archbishop Makarios:

"***Makarios' central interest was to block off the Turkish intervention so that he and his Greek Cypriots could go happily massacring Turkish Cypriots.***" (pp. 341-345).

Mr. Ball also states in the same pages that "***the Greek Cypriots ... do not want a peace-keeping force; they just want to be left alone to kill Turkish Cypriots...***" He also recounts telling Makarios in no uncertain terms that "***the world's not going to stand by and let you turn this beautiful island into your private abattoir.***"

In the course of the Greek Cypriot coup, the office of the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, Dr. Fazıl Küçük was taken over and ransacked by the Greek Cypriot armed gunmen and police, while Turkish Cypriot police officers and men were put under arrest by their colleagues. The offices of the Turkish Cypriot Ministers were also taken over and ransacked.

Makarios had thrown away the Constitution and was asking the Turkish Cypriots to accept a minority status in a Greek Cypriot Republic. Even telephone lines were cut off and the *Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation* was telling the world that the Turkish Cypriots had "rebelled" against the "legitimate government" and that the "government" was containing the "rebellion". When finally the Foreign Press was able to come into the Turkish Cypriot part of Nicosia, this is what they saw:

"We went tonight into the sealed-off Turkish quarter of Nicosia in which 200 to 300 people had been slaughtered in the last five days. We are the first Western reporters there and we have seen sights too frightful to be described in print and horrors so extreme that people seemed stunned beyond tears and reduced to a hysterical and mirthless giggle that is more terrible than tears."

(*Daily Express*, 28 December 1963-report by Rene Maccoll and Daniel Mc. Geachie)

"... A few days ago, 1,000 people lived here, in their solid, stone built homes which

hug the coast road to Kyrenia, 13 miles from Nicosia. Then in a night of terror 350 villagers - men, women and children - vanished. They were all Turks."

(*Daily Herald*, London, 31 December 1963)

"In Cyprus the terror continues. Right now we are witnessing the exodus of Turks from villages. Thousands of people are abandoning their homes, lands, herds: Greek terrorism is relentless. This time the rhetoric of the Hellens and the busts of Plato do not suffice to cover-up their barbaric and ferocious behavior."

(*Il Giorno*, 14 January 1964, report by Giorgio Bocca)

It is in the face of these developments, whereby 700 Turkish Cypriots who had been driven away from the Kumsal area (a suburb of Nicosia), were still missing; 3000 Turkish Cypriots had been driven from their homes in Küçük Kaymaklı (another suburb of Nicosia); and Turkish Cypriot refugees were pouring in from all over the island, that Dr. Küçük wrote a letter of appeal to all Heads of State on 5 January 1964, in which he said:

"The Greeks of Cyprus ... have planned and put into execution an organised armed attack by the Greek Cypriot Police and civilians on the Turks and Turkish property in towns and villages, including my own residence and office, since the night of 20th December 1963.

During these attacks Turkish houses in Nicosia and elsewhere have broken into and many innocent Turks, including women and children, have been murdered in cold blood in their houses or driven away as hostages...

Even after the cease-fire, Turks have been killed and kidnapped and many Turkish houses have been looted or maliciously set on fire by the Greeks. Turks both in towns and villages are still besieged and all means of communication have been cut off to them. Also, the normal supply of foodstuffs to Turkish citizens is no longer possible.

Reliable reports reaching us indicate that, even now, the Greeks are arming and preparing another onslaught for a general massacre on a larger scale than before."

There was no constitutional order. Makarios had already declared not only the Constitution but also the Agreements to be "dead and buried", and it became clear that there was no possibility of the Turkish Cypriot people living mixed with the Greek Cypriot people. This was proved by the fact that the Turkish Cypriots, who lived on and tilled 33% of the land, were forced to evacuate 103 villages. Surrounded by the Greek and the Greek Cypriot forces, they were forced to live for eleven years in enclaves scattered throughout the whole island, comprising a mere 3% of the area of Cyprus. During this period, they were denied all their human rights and told that they should leave the island unless they accepted a second-class status in the island.

It is against this background that the Greek Cypriot allegation to the effect that the TRNC is the result of a "secessionist policy" is an insult to the injuries suffered by the Turkish Cypriots, who were left stateless, unless they succumbed to the demands of the Greek Cypriot leadership to accept a second-rate status, as admitted by Mr. Clerides in his Memoirs:

"(b) The Greek Cypriots by the term unitary state meant control by the Greek Cypriot majority of all the organs of the state in which all political decisions were taken for the Government of the island. In other words, the Greek Cypriot objective was to establish and secure the political and economic control of the island for the Greek Cypriot majority.
(My Deposition, Vol. 3, p.276)

Facing the threat of annihilation or accepting a second-rate or minority status, and seeing that Makarios had no intention of re-establishing the constitutional order, the Turkish Cypriot leadership denounced the Greek Cypriot administration as illegal and unacceptable and Turkish Cypriots started ruling themselves under the authority of the Vice-President until the establishment of their own administration. This administration, through an evolutionary process, culminated in the proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 15 November 1983, nearly twenty years after the Turkish Cypriots had been rendered "stateless" by the Greek Cypriot regime. This fact is also recognised and underlined by none other than Mr. Glafcos Clerides, in his memoirs in the following words:

"The constitutional crisis of the year 1963 disrupted the constitutional order, the continuity, and the partnership status of the two communities, which was created by the Zurich Agreement.

Because of the disruption of the constitutional order a peculiar situation was created by virtue of which the state authority, on the one hand, became under the absolute control of the Greeks, and though the Government was recognised internationally, yet internally Turkish enclaves were created within the territory of the Republic in which at first, an elementary organisation for the purpose of governing the Turkish Cypriots was established, the main characteristic of which was the confusion of military and political powers and functions, and the prevailing of military power.

After the crisis of 1967 (Kophinou Crisis) the above disruption of constitutional order became more clear and showed tendencies of permanency. Thus, in December 1967, the elementary military-political organisation of the Turks in the enclaves developed into a 'Temporary Administration' on the basis of a charter, and at the same time the political and military authorities were separated.

In the years that followed, a steady, stage by stage development is noted in the Turkish Cypriot administration, with the separation in its Legislative, Executive and Judicial powers. An administrative organisation is created, as well as police force and an army. The increase of the financial resources of the Turkish Cypriots through economic

aid from Turkey permitted the functioning of their administration on a more permanent basis, a fact which they made clear, by renaming their 'Temporary Turkish Cypriot Administration'. Thus there exist today in Cyprus two poles of power on a separate geographical basis i.e. the Government of the Cyprus Republic, controlling the largest section of the territory of the state and internationally recognised, and the Turkish Cypriot Administration, which controls a very limited area and is not internationally recognised, but has already taken almost all characteristics of a small state."

("My Deposition" (1990, Volume III, pages 236-237)

By invoking UN Security Council Resolutions, Mr. Zackheos attempts to fabricate the notion of the "people of Cyprus", in order to undermine and water down the equal political status of the Turkish Cypriot people to a mere procedural equality evolved during, and only valid within the scope of the negotiations carried out under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. Yet, the existence of two separate national identities and their respective States in Cyprus is an indisputable reality. The attempt to project the existence of a single "Cypriot nation" is a well-known tactic of the Greek Cypriot side employed within the framework of their efforts to run away with Cyprus. I found it necessary to reiterate that such a nation does not exist and has never existed in Cyprus. This fact was also explicitly stated by no lesser a figure than Archbishop Makarios:

"***No Greek who knows me can ever believe that I would wish to work for the creation of a Cypriot national awareness. The Agreements have created a State but not a Nation.***"

(In his statement to the English-language daily, *Cyprus Mail* of 28 March 1963)

The Greek Cypriot representative, with his statement that "contemporary documents ... prove beyond any doubt that Security Council Resolution 186 (1964) was predicated solely on the **consent of the then Government of Cyprus** insofar as concerns the stationing of any force on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus" tries to conceal the fact that during that period "consent of the Government of Cyprus" meant, and was accepted to be, **the consent of the President (for Greek Cypriots) and Vice-President (for Turkish Cypriots)** as provided for in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus:

"***... Her Majesty's Government are of the opinion that any course of action upon which the UN embarks, should be generally acceptable to all parties including the two communities.***"

(Aide Memoire sent to the UK Mission to the UN by the British Government, dated 4.3.1964)

The said document also noted that the British Peacekeeping force, which was sent to the island, had been established "***with the agreement of both the President and Vice-President***".

Until June 2000, in one way or another, the consent of both parties was sought and registered by the Security Council. This was in line with the UN principle that peace-keeping in any area of the world is conducted with the consent of the parties involved. This UN principle was recently stated by the former UNFICYP Chief of Mission, Dame Ann Hercus, during her press conference on 14 April 1999, at the Ledra Palace Hotel in the UN controlled buffer zone in Cyprus:

"***We are here by consent. The day consent is withdrawn or collapses, is the day UN peace-keepers pack up their bags and go home. Consent and cooperation of the parties to a conflict are essential for peace-keepers to perform their role. They can assist the conflicting parties in implementing a cease-fire or subsequent settlement. But a peace-keeping operation cannot do this without that general consent which is the basis of its being here.***"

Furthermore, a high-level Panel which convened in March 2000 under Your Excellency's auspices to undertake a thorough review of the UN peace and security activities concluded the following as the guiding principles of a UN peace-keeping operation:

"***The Panel concurs that consent of the local parties, impartiality and use of force only in self-defence should remain the bedrock principles of the peace-keeping.***"
(Findings of the Brahimi Report as contained in Your Excellency's letter of 21 August 2000, A/55/302-S/2000/809.)

As to the "contemporary documents" referred to by Mr. Zackheos, it is sufficient to refer to the following documents:

"***Is it not the first thing to do for the UN to insist on Makarios and Kutchuk meeting together and for the UN to deal with them jointly. Makarios is not the 'Government of Cyprus'.***"
(The then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir Douglas Home's comment on a telegram from New York, No.911 of 30 April 1964)

"***What is our policy and true feelings about the future of Cyprus and about Makarios? Judging from the English newspapers and many others, the feeling is very strong indeed against Makarios and his so-called government and nothing would please the British people more than to see him toppled the Cyprus problem solved by direct dealings between the Greeks and the Turks.***"
(Letter of Mr. Patrick Dean, the then Permanent Representative of the UK Mission to the UN to Mr. J.C. Reunie, Foreign Office, dated 12 August 1964)

In an apparent attempt to confuse the innocent with the guilty, the Greek Cypriot representative, in his letter, aims to apportion responsibility for the all-encompassing embargoes imposed on the Turkish Cypriot people to the victims themselves, namely the Turkish Cypriot people. This attitude serves no other purpose than further poisoning the relations between the two peoples and hampering prospects for reconciliation.

As to Mr. Zackheos's remarks on the long-standing process of negotiations, it should be underlined that the fundamental basis of the search for a just and lasting solution in Cyprus, which has been going on intermittently since 1968, has been the **equal partnership** of the two peoples in the island (the internal balance) and the maintenance of the balance established between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus (the external balance). In the course of the efforts for a settlement conducted under the auspices of successive UN Secretaries-General, a number of basic parameters have emerged, such as **bi-zonality**, **political equality** and **the continuation of the Treaties of Guarantee and of Alliance**. Resolution of the property issue on the basis of **global exchange and/or compensation** is also among these parameters.

The policy which the Greek Cypriot side has followed vis-à-vis the talks, namely its rejection of the 1985 and 1986 Draft Framework Agreements, the UN-sponsored Set of Ideas of 1992 as well as the package of Confidence Building Measures of 1994, and others, should have demonstrated to all concerned that the other side is not interested in a negotiated settlement, but is out to destroy the above parameters which have been established in the course of the negotiations, by exploiting its usurped title of "the Government of Cyprus".

That the Greek Cypriot side has long been using the negotiation process as a tactical device in order to consolidate its so-called "government" status and achieve its political objectives other than a mutually acceptable settlement is all too obvious, and has, in fact, been publicly admitted by Mr. Clerides in the following words:

"***The trick is here is to give the impression that you are going to accept a proposal in order to get the other side to reject it and then portray the other side as the intransigent party to the world.***"

(At a press conference on 6 November 1997)

In spite of this Greek Cypriot mentality, the Turkish Cypriot party had agreed to take part in the proximity talks which lasted from December 1999 to November 2000. However,

the talks failed to achieve the declared objective of **preparing the ground for meaningful negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement.**

I must stress, in conclusion, that the cause of reconciliation in Cyprus cannot be served by distorting history or the present realities, as the Greek Cypriot representative has done in his above-mentioned letter, or by using the usurped title of "the Government of Cyprus" as a political weapon against the Turkish Cypriot people.

I should be grateful, if the text of the present letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under Agenda Item 64, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Aytuğ Plümer
Representative of the
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus